1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

Colorado crossing until he reached Yampai Creek in Walapai territory, and that he talked with none. On his eastward trip, he was attacked at Truxton Spring or somewhat farther east. Indians were seen in the vicinity of the Coconino caves, and fresh trails were found just west of the Little Colorado.[1] That is, again he saw no Indians between Yampai Canyon and this river. Ives' party visited Cataract Canyon in 1858; his map No. 2 shows a "Yampai Village" there. On his eastward trip in March and April of that year he found a few Hualpais in the vicinity of Truxton Spring; huts and Indians on the trail leading from a point west of Peach Spring toward Diamond Creek; and saw Hualpais at the Creek. Egloffstein found "Yampais" who "did not differ much from the Hualpais in general appearance" at the present village in Cataract Canyon. Ives also found a deserted village, with huts resembling those in Cataract Canyon, at a point on the plateau far north of Pine Spring, probably above Prospect Valley.[2] But he saw no Indians along the entire route from Pine Spring south to Mount Floyd and eastward by Bill Williams Mountain to the San Francisco mountains and beyond to the river.

The upshot of all this is that not one of these explorers establishes the existence of settlements anywhere along this line, although they passed in autumn and spring, the most favorable time to meet even ranging Havasupai. Their identifications are based on hearsay from their guides, and these—Leroux was probably as competent as any—refer to the Indians of the region indifferently as Yampai, Tonto, or Coconino. Add to this that my informants, who were boys at this time, never once referred to occupation of this region except in the mythological migration period, and that Garcés made the difficult descent into Cataract Canyon in 1776 when he would surely have pursued the direct route from the Walapai to the Hopi villages had there been settlements on it.

Linguistic and Other Relations

Linguistically the Havasupai are closely related to the neighboring Walapai. The dialectic difference is slight. These two are classed by Harrington,[3] together with the Yavapai and Tonto, as the eastern division of the Yuman stock.

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[1] *Ibid*, 79, 82, 83. Incidentally, I was interested in discovering what impression Beale's dromedaries had made on the Indians. My Havasupai informants had never heard of them, although the Walapai saw them, by Beale's account.

[2] Ives, 97, 100, 101, 108, 110. The name Yampai is employed, as by Garcés, for any indifferent group of central Arizona.

[3] *A Yuma Account of Origins*, 324. Some lexical material collected by Cushing and Mrs. Stevenson is given by Gatschet, (a, c).

Tribal Origin and Classification

Spier (1928, 98) states that the Havasupai probably originated as a branch of the Walapai tribe, practicing more intensive agriculture than the latter and subsequently occupying lands favorable to farming. The Havasupai feel more akin to the Walapai than to other neighboring tribes. In historic times the boundary between the contiguous areas occupied by the Havasupai and the Walapai on the Coconino Plateau was ill defined, and members of both tribes frequently met and camped together. At present, there is a higher rate of intermarriage with the Walapai than with any other tribe.

The close association and prevailing friendly relations between the two tribes in historic times are reflected in tribal lore, which allies them as victims of other tribes in warfare and raiding and as partners in retaliatory expeditions. The origin myths and much other folklore of the two tribes are almost identical in content.

While the Walapai and Havasupai dialects are very similar, members of both tribes are conscious of certain differences in vocabulary and speed of utterance, the Havasupai speaking more slowly.

Thus, evidence seems to indicate a common origin for the two tribes. Whiting (n. d., 11) suggests that designation of the Havasupai as a tribe independent of the Walapai "was probably only an accident of administrative history." However, separation occurred early enough to permit development of a group consciousness in both the Havasupai and the Walapai tribes.

Kroeber (1947, 41) describes seven subtribes or bands within the Walapai tribe. "The Havasupai," he writes, "look like a Walapai band or subtribe which has acquired somewhat greater ethnic, cultural, and historic independence" than the other seven.

Spier (1929, 217) classed the Havasupai culture as primarily Great Basin in type with a minor inclusion of Pueblo traits. Kroeber (1947, 42) notes that Havasupai resemblance to Great Basin culture lies not only "in considerable specific content, but especially in similar meagerness of defined patterns." Kelly (1953, 10) designates the Havasupai a Plateau Rancheria tribe along with the Walapai, Yavapai, Paiute, and Chemehuevi. Kroeber (1947, 41) simply classes the Havasupai, Walapai, and Yavapai together as Northwest Arizona Yumans.

Douglas W. Schwartz has made an archeological survey of Cataract Canyon. Basing his conclusions principally upon pottery classification and analysis, Schwartz postulates that the Havasupai are descendants of the Cohonino people who, according to him, occupied the Coconino Plateau from A. D. 600 to A. D. 1200 and migrated to Cataract Canyon, beginning about

101 A. D. 900 and continuing until A. D. 1200, when the plateau was entirely abandoned. Schwartz has reiterated his postulate (1956, 77; 1957, 372), but so
114 far as I know he has not presented evidence to substantiate it. Although
172 Schwartz tentatively identifies the Cerbat as the prehistoric antecedents of the neighboring Walapai, he suggests that further research be done to settle this question.

101 The extremely close linguistic and cultural affiliation of the Havasupai and the Walapai is well recognized and has led Spier and others to suggest a
114 common origin for the two tribes. Presumably, the conclusions of Schwartz do not run counter to Spier's theory, but merely place the time of separation for these neighboring tribes further back in prehistory than has previously been assumed. It might then be suggested that the rather high incidence of Havasupai-Walapai intermarriage and their intimate association socially have served as a deterrent to a greater degree of separation in language and culture than that which presently pertains.

Linguistic Relationships and Tribal Name

101 Linguistically, the Havasupai, together with the Walapai and Yavapai,
114 form the northeastern Yuman group, a division of the Hokan linguistic family. Havasuapi and Walapai dialects are almost identical and differ but little from
●197 Yavapai. Kroeber (1943, 25) states that Havasupai resembles Paipai of Baja California. Whiting (n. d., 27) considers both the northeastern Yumans and the Paipai to be "marginal and relatively close to the ancestral patterns."

Whiting (n. d., 9) translates Havasupai as "the people who live at the place which is green," in contradiction to the euphonic rendition, "people of the blue-green water." The latter he traces to a conscious parallel of Cadman's "Land of the Sky-blue Waters." Whiting considers the syllable "ha," formerly translated as "water," to be part of the color term "havasu," which means blue or green, rather than blue-green. Spier (personal communication, 1957) points out: "The word for the range blue to green (hence either blue or green as we denominate them) is yasú'wa, not hàvasu; any comparison with other Yuman languages shows this. Even if hàvasú were correct, it would combine with ahà (water) as ahàvasú. Whiting still has to explain the initial ahà." Spier (1946, 10-11) renders the term for "blue-green" in Havasupai yasú'wa and in Maricopa xavacú while the term for "water" is ahà in Havasupai and axá in Maricopa. The translations recorded by this investigator were the same as those reported by Spier.

"Pai" means "people" in the tribal names Havasupai, Walapai, and Yavapai. Thus, Havasupai is an Anglicized contraction of the native designation for this tribe, and Supai, referring both to the place and to the people, is a further abbreviation. Earliest Spanish and Anglo-American references to the Havasupai tribe were under the appelation "Conconino" in a variety of

spellings, the name possibly being derived from the Zuni term for the Havasupai, ka'nina (Spier, 1928, 98). From this source the county where the Havasupai live received the name Coconino. 101 114 197

Intertribal Contacts

As already noted, Havasupai association with the Walapai has been longer and more intimate than with any other tribe, and intermarriage occurs with much greater frequency than with any other group. Few Havasupai families are without consanguine relatives among the Walapai. An elderly man, Shorty Montoya, was pointed out as being "the only true Supai" (that is, he had no ancestors known to have belonged to the Walapai or other tribes). 101 648

Contact with the Yavapai was limited to Yavapai raids upon the Havasupai and retaliatory attacks by the Havasupai until about 1865, when the two tribes agreed to cease hostilities in favor of trade (Spier 1928, 375). Western Apache groups probably joined Yavapai parties raiding the Havasupai (Spier 1928, 356), and raids are generally attributed to them, rather than to the Yavapai. 648 721

The earliest encounters with the Navaho in 1864 (Spier 1928, 95) were somewhat hostile, but trading and friendly relations developed in succeeding years. Similarly, reports indicate that early relations with the Paiute were hostile, but by 1856 (Spier 1928, 3[illegible]some Paiutes had taken refuge in Havasupai and Walapai country. Subsequently the three tribes became friendly. A small number of intertribal marriages took place. 648 439

The Havasupai have had a long history of trade with the Hopi. Informants stress that the Hopi are like brothers to them. However, intermarriage has been infrequent. [582]

Spier (1928, 100, 244-5) notes that the Mohave were on the western end of a trade route running through the Walapai, Havasupai, and Navaho lands to the Hopi mesas. Havasupai contact with the Mohave was mostly through the Walapai, but Havasupai sometimes made trading trips to the Mohave.

Political and Social Organization

Leadership formerly rested with chiefs, who achieved office through inheritance or personal merit. Chiefs had no power to command; rather, they acted as advisers and leaders. Succession of chiefs was not automatic and did not necessarily follow immediately upon death of a chief. A period of months or even years might elapse before tribal opinion united upon a successor. 622

The Havasupai

IN Cataract Canyon, within the boundaries of the Grand Canyon National Park, nearly three thousand feet below the land above, live the Havasupai Indians. Hemmed in by towering walls of red sandstone the acreage of their reservation is very small but its fertility, spectacular scenery, and unusual setting as a habitation for man ranks it as one of the most remarkable places in Arizona.

The original reservation of 1880 was a tract of land about five miles wide and twelve long surrounding the inhabited part of Cataract Canyon. Two years later the size was reduced to the irregular strip of canyon bottom land extending a mile and a half north and south of the Indian settlement, an area of 518.6 acres. The population is also small. The Indian Bureau census of 1939 shows two hundred thirteen members, a slight increase in recent years. The tribe has probably never numbered more than three hundred.

Cataract Canyon is almost semi-tropical. The high plateaus of the surrounding country have a temperate climate but the village, shut in as it is, averages from ten to twelve degrees warmer the year round. In summer it is very hot, the temperature often reaching one hundred and twelve degrees.

Through the canyon's gorge runs Cataract Creek which plunges over precipitous cliffs forming several beautiful waterfalls. Mooney Falls, the largest is nearly two hundred feet high. Passing through miles of limestone formations the water is heavily impregnated with calcium and magnesium carbonates, calcium sulphate, and magnesium chloride. These mineral salts in solution over a period of time, coat everything they touch with a stony deposit and impart a light tinge to the water which imparts a light blue or greenish blue to the creek. Where the water gathers in pools at the foot of the falls, it is a fascinating turquoise color.

Taking their name from the water of the creek, these Indians have become known as the blue-water people (Havasu, blue or green water; pai, people).

The Havasupai speak a language of the Yuman stock, and are closely allied to the Hualapai their near neighbors on the west. They speak a similar language, having a slight variation of dialect. Hualapai, Havasupai, and Yavapai are dialects of a single language which is closely related to Mohave and Yuman.

HISTORY

Archaeologists have believed the Havasupai formerly built and occupied villages of a permanent character on the Colorado to the east of the San Francisco Mountains where ruins may be found today. As a result of war with other tribes they abandoned these villages and took refuge in the San Francisco mountains subsequently leaving these for their present home. In Cataract Canyon they found plenty of water, a mild climate, and protection from the raids of more powerful tribes. Recent evidence would seem to show that this is not correct, although the information here given is to be found in Hodge, Handbook of American Indians.

The first written record of the Havasupai dates from 1776 when Padre Francisco Garces, a Spanish mission priest, stopped there. There was little contact of the tribe with the Americans for the next hundred years, except for an occasional visit of trappers, prospectors, and exploring parties.

For several years following the establishment of the reservation

7;Spier E-5 (1918-1921) 1929
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the practice has diffused throughout this wide continuous area without stating anything whatever as to its antiquity. We have then answered the historical question how the several Pacific tribes came by their girls' rites. As a matter of fact, the problem is not so simple as Kroeber depicts it, for there are at least four types of girls' rites in the Pacific area, as I will demonstrate in another place. What I am insisting is that we can answer a purely historical question without defining the precise antiquity of the custom.

It is perhaps inevitable that many of us will want to go further in delineating the general history of a culture. This may take the form of suggesting tentatively the basic culture from which it has specialized. But it seems to me unjustifiable in the present state of our knowledge to extend such interpretations beyond reasonably restricted limits.

If I may be permitted to indulge in such interpretation, I would suggest that Havasupai culture was once part of an undifferentiated Basin culture which extended southward across western Arizona to include as well Walapai, Yavapai, and Tonto. This proposition is based on the observation that Havasupai life is even now primarily of Basin type; Walapai, and perhaps Yavapai and Tonto, even more so. These four groups are linguistically close, Walapai and Havasupai practically identical, and all are set apart as peripheral in the distribution of the Yuman stock on its eastern margin. Further, the Havasupai and Walapai are in intimate cultural relations and have intermarried more than with others. Both groups look on the Havasupai somewhat as a division of the Walapai, despite a Havasupai tale purporting to describe their severance from the Yavapai. The most plausible explanation is, then, that the Havasupai are a group of Walapai who became distinct and somewhat specialized. Their specialization in agriculture I ascribe to their happy environment; their slight specialization in ritual to Navaho or perhaps Hopi contacts since the day of their separation.

Such a suggestion contains a minimum of hypothesis. But what does such culture history tell of the processes by which their culture took form? For this it seems better to turn to inquiries of another sort.

stream into ditches with a speed of flow sufficient to divert a considerable amount of water. It is then carried through the village and into the fields. Most of the irrigation canals are simply small ditches dug in the sand, banked slightly on the sides. The main ditches are as much as two feet deep and three feet wide, but the laterals are much smaller. These are dug from the main ditches to the individual garden plots which may then be watered as necessary. Each field is divided by long mounds of earth into sections which are watered one at a time by letting the excess from one into the next until the entire field is well soaked. Whenever the water must be carried across the mouths of side canyons where ditches would be frequently washed out in storms, small aqueducts have been constructed with piping and cement. The Indian Service has made plans to install new diversion dams and three new aqueducts with permanent footings at a cost of many thousands of dollars. The old system is a primitive one, but it has stood the test of time, for the Havasupais have been irrigating for centuries.

In preparing the fields for the first planting in April, the old buckthorn planting stick as an agricultural tool has given way to the plow, scraper, harrow and disc as well as shovels and hoes. Most of this equipment, along with several cultivators, mowers and one tractor, belongs to the Tribal Council which rents it out for services or money. Unfortunately, most of these tools are badly cared for since the Havasupais seem to have little mechanical ability. Men, women and children plant, but the men do most of the field preparation, irrigation and fence building and repair. The age old prayer at the first planting is still a very important part of this spring activity.

The more than 280 Havasupais speak a dialect which, along with that spoken by the Walapais, the Yavapais and the Tonto, has been classified as the eastern division of the Yuman stock. Havasupai and Walapai are particularly close, the dialects being no more different from each other than are "Bostonian" and "Brooklynese." The cultural affinities of these two groups are equally close and their members live comfortably in each other's midst and frequently intermarry.

Physically the Havasupais bear a close resemblance to the Indians of the Lower Colorado. They are of medium to short stature and inclined to fatness. Their complexions are relatively light and they smile easily and WINNINGLY.

/98 cont./

water; vasú, blue; and apá, man; and was first applied to them by the Walapai and other Yuman tribes, who had been impressed by the peculiarly transparent blue of the stream flowing through Cataract Canon. By several neighboring tribes and by early writers the Havasupai were called Coconinos, or Cohoninos. This is undoubtedly a Hopi word, for the Hopi still call them Kotúnina, which, they say, is from kóhu, wood, and nína, kill, hence "Wood-killers," referring to the former Havasupai custom of breaking off limbs of trees for firewood with clubs. The name survives in that of Coconino county, Arizona.

and which makes life possible in the depths of the gorge, flows through the length of the little garden spot, then in a cataract leaps from the floor of the cañon to be caught in a pool below.

While the brink of the cañon lies in the high plateau region, the land of the piñon, cedar, and pine, the home of the Havasupai is in almost a subtropical spot that produces luxuriant vegetation with fruits of several kinds. Ask a Havasupai whence came these fruits and vegetables, and he will tell you, "God brought them, all but the figs." This frank expression as to the origin of his garden products reflects a Havasupai peculiarity. Ordinarily Indians will not mention their gods by name, but the Havasupai discuss them with the same familiarity that they would their neighbors. With them, as indeed with all Indians, everything animate and inanimate is of divine origin.

Havasupai mythology differs but slightly from that of the parent stock, and the difference in language is dialectic only. Notwithstanding the similarity in myth and language, the separation must have occurred at a very early date, for in their features the Havasupai bear little resemblance to the Yuma or the Mohave. They are below the average Indian in stature, while the Mohave and the Yuma are far above.

/99/ In 1903 the Havasupai numbered about 250, but in three years disease has diminished their population to 166. The